Agonizing Reappraisal of T. E. Lawrence

—M. A. Fitzsimons

THE

Commonweal

RUSSIAN DREAM, U. S. NIGHTMARE

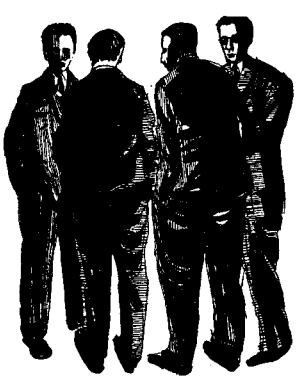
The Geneva Illusion

by William V. Shannon

A PROTESTANT VIEW

Types of Anti-Catholicism

by Robert McAfee Brown



FROM FRANCE

Chances for a Non-Communist Left

by Robert Barrat

Volume LXIII, No. 8 November 25, 1955 Twenty Cent

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CANDLES, particularly tall ones on the gradines of an altar, at times seem perversely resistant to all attempts to light them. When last extinguished, wicks may have been pressed into the molten wax . . . snapped off close to their bases . . . or cocked at awkward angles. In any event, time drags and exasperation mounts as the altar boy or sacristan seeks to effect combustion with the tip of his taper lighter.

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The Commonweal

week by week

THE REPUBLICAN CHOICE

MR. EISENHOWER is safely at Gettysburg, and the decision on whether or not he will run again will have to come from him. But most Washington observers think he will not, and whether President Eisenhower does or does not run again, it will do the Republicans no harm to contemplate their problem. The plain truth is that the pre-Eisenhower GOP was the minority party in this country and this situation seems unchanged; without Mr. Eisenhower or some reasonable facsimile thereof, the Republicans cannot count on enough votes to win the Presidency.

In large part this state of affairs results from the Republicans' own role during twenty years of Democratic rule in Washington. During those years the GOP record was almost hopelessly negative; when the Democrats said *yea,* the Republicans were content to say *nay* and let the record stand at that. The feeling that it was time for a change, plus the fortuitous presence on the GOP ticket of a great war hero, gave the Republicans victory in 1952. But the polls continue to indicate that actual Republican voters are in the minority, and there is nothing in the record of elections since that time, especially in the most recent ones, to give any comfort to the GOP.

It is quite plain that the GOP has considerably less than an even chance without Mr. Eisenhower. And happy though this fact may make the Democrats, this situation is not what it should be. At this stage in history, at least, it does not seem good for the nation to have one of its two major parties enter every campaign with a heavy numerical edge over the other. But the reason for this state of affairs seems clear enough, too; the GOP record the voters see is made in Congress, and there the split in the Republican Party shows up at its worst, with the Old Guard of the GOP firmly in control. Eisenhower men in Congress, especially in the Senate, are comparatively few and, for a variety of reasons, carry so little weight that they seem even fewer. Mr. Eisenhower talks about the younger men of promise, and they do exist, but most of them are not in Congress and hence they are not in the public eye. For a substantial number of the voters, therefore, the Republican Party is perpetually engaged in putting its worst foot forward.

IT is true enough, as the Republicans are quick to point out, that the Democratic Party is also split, largely along the lines of conservative South and liberal North. But the split in the Democratic Party is on domestic issues; they tend to be united on the rough outlines of a coherent foreign policy —which is at this time of greater national importance. On domestic issues, Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans may be alike, but normally they are miles apart on foreign policy. Scratch a conservative Republican and nine times out of ten you will find an isolationist. And internationalist-minded independent voters who might normally vote Republican on domestic issues will not vote for isolationist-minded Republicans.

This, then, seems to be the problem facing the Republicans. If Mr. Eisenhower had another term in office and a commanding voice in the selection of his successor for the nomination, the face of the Republican Party might well be changed. As it is, his work on this score has hardly begun to show results, and it can soon be undone. With Adlai Stevenson the overwhelming favorite for the Democratic nomination, who will be the GOP candidate if Mr. Eisenhower does not run this time?

Understandably enough, the Democrats and the Old Guard of the GOP would both prefer the same kind of Republican candidate—the Democrats because they would feel completely sure of beating such a candidate and the Old Guard because they could feel he was "one of their own" in a way they never could about President Eisenhower. But if the GOP can head its ticket with a man like Chief Justice Warren, the coming campaign can be waged on real domestic differences between the two parties and on differences in emphasis in

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foreign policy. The resulting campaign would not be as exciting as a mud-slinging, hotly partisan battle royal. But after such a decent contest between two men of ability and character, the nation would then be able to unite on essentials and go forward, no matter which party won. The ideal election campaign in 1956, in short, would be one in which the nation wins no matter which one of two men is elected. If Mr. Eisenhower decides against entering the race, it will be up to the Republicans to come forward with their choice for such a campaign. But if the Old Guard manages to dictate the choice, the GOP can probably resign itself to continuing in a minority-party status for years to come.

THREAT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

A GUIDING assumption throughout the cold war is that the USSR seizes upon every major injustice, every desperate economic situation, every affront to racial and national pride, to win Communist adherents. It is still a sound assumption and rightly serves as a spur for all sorts of non-military aid to underdeveloped lands. Such aid is clearly an effective indirect means of opposing Communist expansion. Soviet intervention in the Egypt-Israeli conflict, however, raises a new kind of obstacle; for to meet the national aspirations involved in this case means to flaunt other national aspirations.

Both sides are adamant to begin with. The Arabs have never accepted the decision reached in the 1948 war. They are determined to return to their homes in Palestine. Even the children in their refugee camps are said to have memorized all the physical lineaments of their former homes. None of the Arab leaders will publicly admit the Israeli State's right to an existence.

The Israelis themselves are no less determined —and they have been far more articulate and proficient in presenting their side of the case. In the repeated border skirmishes the Israeli army gives back better than it gets. Israeli leaders are unwilling to negotiate away one square inch of territory.

That is why it is so hard to cope with the new Soviet intervention. Heavy shipments of American arms to Israel would threaten to throw the now-tempted Arab world into the Russian camp. It would greatly risk bringing about a line-up which the USSR has long sought: Israel and the United States vs. the USSR and the whole Arab world. Yet if the United States and Britain sit back and allow unilateral Egyptian armament, the Israelis may decide to strike while they can.

Such an outbreak would be more likely if both sides were not aware of the obstacles to sustaining such a full-scale war. Colonel Nasser appreciates the tenuousness of his supply line and the vulnerability of the vital Nile dams to the Israeli air force. The Israelis would like to clear the Gaza strip of enemy forces but, beyond that, they have no practicable territorial objectives.

The greatest danger signalized by the Czech arms shipments to Egypt is rather Soviet infiltration in the strategic Middle East. For instance, the Soviet Union might obtain an agreement with Colonel Nasser to construct the Aswan High Dam, on behalf of which Egypt has long been besieging the International Bank for funds. Russia might encounter tremendous difficulty in bringing this to completion, but in the meantime hundreds of Soviet agents—technicians, diplomats and business representatives—would be at work in a land where the Communist Party is now forcibly outlawed. Similar infiltration could easily occur in other hitherto hostile Arab lands.

In short, the Czech arms deal underlines more than anything else the immediate need for expanding rather than contracting our technical programs in the Middle East. And that runs directly counter to the current recommendation of the State Department's John B. Hollister.

PROTECTION FOR THE INNOCENT

A RECENT Supreme Court decision may allow a murder to go unpunished. In making the decision the Supreme Court affirmed, once

NEXT WEEK

WALTER J. ONG, S. J., writes about Contrasts in Catholicism in the Christmas Book Issue.

"By contrast with American Catholicism, European Catholicism is commonly thought of as more 'traditional.' And yet there are curious paradoxes here. For almost all the *avowed* efforts to adjust the Church positively to the modern world, from the more *avant-garde* theological speculation through revision of the liturgy and social experiments such as that of the priest-workers and *Mitbestimmungsrecht,* are initiated typically in Europe, not in the United States. . . On the other hand, the myriad adjustments of American Catholics to the changing world have characteristically been made unconsciously, often with the aid of heavy disguises and all sorts of rationalization."

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again, that the legal rights of the guilty are exactly those of the innocent, neither more nor less.

The facts are these. In December, 1952, after Korean duty, Robert W. Toth was given an honorable discharge from the service. Early in 1953 he was working in a Pittsburgh steel mill, but on May 13, 1953, six military police strode into the steel mill, arrested Mr. Toth, gave him a G.I. uniform, five minutes to telephone his mother, and a quick trip to Washington. Two days later he was on another plane bound for Taegu, Korea, and a court martial. For there is a provision in the Code of Military Justice which authorizes the military trial of a former serviceman for certain crimes beyond the jurisdiction of the civil courts if they were committed while the person was in uniform. And Mr. Toth was accused of murdering a Korean three months before his discharge.

When the case was brought before the Supreme Court, that section of the Code under which Mr. Toth was arrested was declared unconstitutional by a six to three vote. The Court made no attempt to determine the guilt of Mr. Toth. His guilt or innocence was irrelevant to the single question of whether his constitutional rights had been abrogated, of whether a civilian could be tried by a military tribunal in accordance with the guarantees of the Constitution. In ruling that a civilian could not be so tried the Court said: "We hold that Congress cannot subject civilians like Toth to trial by court martial. They, like other civilians, are entitled to . . . safeguards afforded those tried in the regular courts authorized by . . . the Constitution."

Because of this decision three "turncoat" prisoners of war who had been awaiting court martial were also freed from a stockade. But the importance of the decision extends far beyond the persons of Mr. Toth and these prisoners; its implications extend into areas of our society where we are each involved. It makes clear the basis of the proper procedure for the trial of any citizen of this country.

At a time when civil rights are so constantly endangered in the name of "security," when a leading columnist can talk of "the specious claim that individual rights are sacrosanct," when charges of guilt are levied by so many irresponsible persons and groups, it is well to have a decision which makes clear the issue: proper court procedure is determined not by the guilt or innocence of the person but by his constitutional rights. If we try the murderer unfairly, we leave no protection for the innocent. And it is better, in our imperfect world, that a murderer go untried than that freedom itself should languish in the stockade.

ECONOMICS AND HOMEMAKING

A CERTAIN contrast was observable at Lexington, Ky., at the recent meeting of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. It reflected one of the differences between technicians and ideologists. Two sessions in particular brought the contrast into focus.

The first presented a panel of scientific and economics experts most effectively presided over by Rev. Edward W. O'Rourke of Champaign, Ill. No clear-cut answer to the farm problem emerged, but rather a series of precisions—the extent to which present farm surpluses are unhealthy, where the rural credit problem lies, the need of focusing on our low-income farmers, etc.

There was nothing tentative or inconclusive about the session devoted to the virtues of rural living, which were most eloquently summed up by an Iowa wife and mother, Mrs. Helen Jane Kelliher. She persuasively stressed the advantages of full-time child-rearing by both father and mother, of working on the same big project as a team and of playing and praying together. But Mrs. Kelliher also explained how the uncertainty of farm income tends to discourage expenditures for the all-important job of keeping the rural home livable and appealing to the children. A million Americans leave the farm every year, but those who remain and make a go of it would seem to have an unusual opportunity for building up family life.

POVERTY IN EDUCATION

THE Department of Commerce recently released figures which show that a new crest has been reached in the upward surge of the nation's economy. Secretary of Commerce Weeks spoke glowingly of our prosperity: "Business never was better; workers never had it so good."

It is ironic that in this land of smiling plenty one word, *shortage*, sums up our every assessment of national education: shortage of funds, shortage of buildings, shortage of teachers, and a seeming shortage of vision and interest in the needs of education on the part of the general American public. In a year which will probably see the gross national product of the U.S. exceed $400 billion the national conscience is confronted with the fact that its educational budget of $12 billion is pitifully inadequate.

This year, for example, there is an estimated shortage of 135,000 qualified teachers and a shortage of 250,000 classrooms in the United States. As a result, over six million children are attending

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school in what can only be called educational slums which have been created, to a large extent, by the fact that our national expenditure for education has fallen far short of its needs over the past quarter-century.

Against this somber backdrop the White House Conference on Education scheduled to begin on November 28 should be presented to the American people for what it is—a national meeting of educators called into an emergency session to see whether or not the richest and most powerful nation in the world will continue to be satisfied with a third-rate educational system.

We sincerely hope that the White House Conference, whatever other suggestions it might offer, will make clear to the American people that the nation will have precisely that level of education which the people are willing to pay for in their support of public, parochial and private schools. Money alone, of course, will not cure all our educational ills but doubling our present annual expenditure for education will help create an atmosphere in which administrators and teachers can work with freer minds toward the solution of the basic educational problems.

In view of our expanding economy, the real question is not whether we can pay more for our education, but whether or not we are willing to do so. If our prosperity, in the words of Secretary Weeks, "just keeps rolling along," an enlightened American people should be glad to help its educational system get both feet on the band wagon.

RACE AND THE FUTURE

A NUMBER of incidents last week served to focus the nation's attention on the problem of race relations in the South. A Mississippi jury failed to return an indictment in the kidnaping of Emmett Till; a group of Louisiana Catholics defended their rejection of a Negro priest by stating that racial integration was opposed to the teachings of the Catholic Church; the Governor of Virginia was studying proposed changes in the state laws and constitution to prevent integration in the state schools; the Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional the barring of Negroes from a public golf-course in Atlanta and a public swimming pool in Baltimore.

These various evidences of a continued and virulent racism in the South pain the Christian conscience, it is true, but they hardly justify the smug and outraged tone of much of the editorial reaction which they aroused in the North. For despite the great improvement that has been made in race relations within the past twenty years, there is scarcely a metropolitan area well above the Mason-Dixon Line which does not offer abundant evidence that here, too, racism lives a vigorous, though submerged, existence and that the observance of local, state and national laws regarding the equality of the races is often merely legalistic and literal, while the heart remains hardened against the spirit in which these laws were enacted. Racism is heinous, whether one snuffs out a Negro life with a rope around the throat or snuffs out a Negro's spirit by condemning him to sub-human housing or by exiling him to an economic underworld. Prejudice and hate are not endemic, nor do they recognize state lines or regional boundaries.

Thus the recent decision of the Supreme Court offers a challenge and an opportunity, not to the South alone, but to the entire nation. What is needed is a "break-through" of the national consciousness and a rallying of the nation's moral strength to obey the letter of the law and to embrace, unreservedly, its spirit. For making this a nation in which liberty and justice for all is a reality and not an idle slogan is the unfinished business of America.

PORGY IN MOSCOW

THERE are various arenas of competition in which Russia has recently bested the United States. It is Russia that has dialed the thermostat of the cold war; we have endured the discomforts. And it is we who are trying desperately to calm those convulsions in the Middle East which the Communists so easily stirred up.

All this makes it the more difficult to understand how our State Department can so easily overlook, even oppose, actions which would clearly redound to our benefit. And this is exactly what the State Department has done with cultural relations between our country and Russia. One would be hard pressed to find a better production to send to Russia than *Porgy and Bess,* viewed purely as propaganda. Yet the company has had to finance its own European trip, and the cost of transportation from West Berlin to Moscow and its travel expenses in the Soviet Union are to be paid by the Soviet Government. All indications are that the operetta will be a real hit. The mere rumor of its appearance brought a rush for tickets in Moscow.

What have we to lose by the appearance of *Porgy and Bess* in Moscow? Nothing. And the benefits will certainly be ours. It is unfortunate that we will receive them without the official blessings of our State Department.

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The Geneva Illusion

"IF IT WAS NOT A MISTAKE TO GO THERE, IT WAS AT LEAST A MISTAKE TO GO THERE AND TALK IN THE DREAMLIKE LANGUAGE OF THE RUSSIANS"

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

IT is becoming increasingly clear that the journey of the Western leaders to Geneva was a journey to the land of illusion. If it was not a mistake to go there, it was at least a mistake to go there and talk in the dreamlike language of the Russians. For their dream is our nightmare.

Walter Lippmann, perhaps our most sagacious commentator on foreign affairs, has recently begun to register the new mood of Western unease and disillusionment in a series of columns following his return from a post-Geneva trip to Europe. Even Mr. Lippmann, however, manages to cling to the central and fatal illusion engendered at Geneva and given a gleaming, transient life there. "The Summit Meeting at Geneva in July," he writes, "was a public recognition by both sides that they could not use thermonuclear war or the threat of it to settle the struggle between them. This did not mean that the struggle was over. It meant that the struggle would become a diplomatic contest."

British Foreign Secretary Macmillan expressed the same sentiment in his catch phrase: "There ain't gonna be any war."

If only this were true! All of us would like to see the shadow of thermonuclear war lifted from mankind and the East-West struggle confined to the diplomatic arena, that old familiar jousting ground where we could be assured that no matter what the outcome of the conflict we might lose prestige and some share of our power but not civilization and life itself. The shadow, however, has not lifted. A dozen men in Moscow retain, now as before, the power to make war at any moment in any manner they choose. The rendezvous by Lake Geneva, the bonhomie, the suave rhetoric, and the new-found politesse do not alter that grim circumstance. Behind this Potemkin facade, all is darkness. What little we know of the careers of the members of this Soviet directorate does not encourage the belief that they are susceptible to the same humane aspirations and restraints which actuate the Western figures with whom they negotiate.

Mr. Shannon, co-author of *The Truman Merry-Go-Round*, is Washington correspondent for the New York *Post*.

Consider for a moment Khrushchev, who has climbed to power with the blood of millions of Ukrainian peasants dripping almost literally from his stubby fingers, or Bulganin, the old political general who has probably purged more soldiers of the Red Army in his time than there were battle dead in General Eisenhower's American forces in World War II. Risk and ruthlessness, terror and death are integral to their mode of life. It is a brave man who would dare to say that such men may not sometime take the biggest risk of all.

IN his first "Fireside Speech" in 1952 Adlai Stevenson stated another and more profound premise, "What is the lesson of history and of all human experience? What is the primary law of life? You struggle and you survive—you fail to struggle and you perish. The ways of the world are marked with the bones of peoples who hesitated. . . ."

It is from this tragic insight into the nature of the human condition that our thinking and our actions in foreign affairs must spring. To some, this may be a disheartening, even psychically demoralizing conception. Yet it is only the hard truth—writ large—that each of us will one day die. It is difficult to see why we should nourish fantasies about our collective fate when we acknowledge our individual mortality.

Our civilization may survive but history offers no guarantee. One cannot, of course, disparage the motives of those who stress the horrors of modern warfare, but neither can we succeed with a policy which rests ultimately on a paralyzing fear of hydrogen weapons, for we have no way of knowing that our adversaries are restrained by the same fear. In the endless thrust and parry of international diplomacy the Russians may well exploit this fear without ever actually having to take the supreme gamble. If we act on a premise that is untrue we shall find ourselves continually leading from weakness, a course of action as disastrous at the conference table as at the bridge table. A conception of foreign policy that excludes the tragic dimension may assuage the pain

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which the burdens of the Cold War exact, but can only serve to undermine our moral strength in the long years ahead.

To recall the realities Geneva obscures is not to argue that the Western leaders should not have gone to Geneva at all. If the Soviet junta wishes to talk, there is no reason why we should not always be willing to listen and to talk in turn. The fears long expressed in some quarters that the Soviets would necessarily convert such a meeting into a propaganda and political success are nothing more or less than a scandalous self-indictment of our own diplomatic incapacity. But the Soviets do, in fact, appear to be well on their way to capitalizing on the Geneva conference. They would find it difficult to do otherwise for theirs is a success by American default. President Eisenhower and his associates at Geneva appear to have journeyed there not with a policy but with a preoccupation. Mr. Eisenhower went to extraordinary lengths to reassure Western Europe and the uncommitted neutrals, on the one hand, and the Russian leaders if possible, on the other, that the United States has only peaceful intentions. The former deserved no such reassurances, and the latter were not impressed by them.

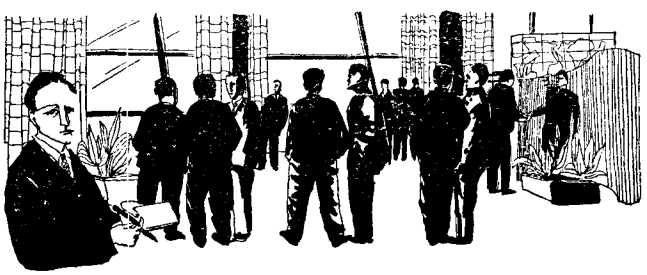
It seems almost impossible for Americans to get over the obsession that they should be loved, or at least well-liked, as well as respected by their allies. Rome in the third century and Britain in the nineteenth were not well-liked by their neighbors, and neither is America in the twentieth. The duty a great power owes to itself and its allies is to be strong and firm and give a lead, not to court what is at best an evanescent popularity.

The Russians sought the Geneva meeting; it is they who lead from weakness. It is their agriculture, after all, which is in chronic crisis, their ruling hierarchy in rapid flux, their captive satellites restive, their population starved for peace and consumer goods, their war machine still a narrow half-step behind our own in technological efficiency. They, not we, are shopping for fake peace and breathing space. They, not we, should have made the concessions.

For a decade, this nation has pursued a policy of containment looking toward prospective negotiations from "situations of strength." Once the moment did present itself, once Stalin did die, once farm collectivization in the satellites did fail, once the Soviets did abandon their hold on Austria and their cold war against Yugoslavia, once the rulers in Moscow did make tentative overtures for a truce, the American government wavered and retreated.

Mr. Eisenhower, for reasons best known to himself, chose at this critical moment to pander to sentimental fancies and a degrading desire for comfort at home, and the most dangerous, wrong-headed notions of British Bevanites and Paris neutralists abroad. He gave priority in the Geneva discussions to emphasis on the futility of atomic and hydrogen warfare, and to proposals for disarmament. These may have been useful strokes in psychological warfare, but they did not deserve first place in any practical discussion of the business at hand. If thermonuclear war is not a feasible policy, the hard-headed Russians are well aware of that and do not need Mr. Eisenhower to tell them so. Disarmament is the supreme fruit of mutual confidence. When no such confidence exists it can only follow and never precede the settlement of major outstanding issues, such as the division of Germany, the fate of satellite States and Russia's meddling in the Near and Far East.

Many Europeans can still argue that the Russians in the year 1955 are hostile to the West because they genuinely misunderstand our motives and genuinely fear capitalist encirclement and attack. Yet, what is this but a mere revival of Mr. Henry Wallace's



threadbare arguments of a decade ago? Surely the long siege of confusion which this country endured from 1945 to 1948 on this precise point must have taught us something.

WHAT course of action might we more wisely have followed in Geneva in place of Mr. Eisenhower's homilies on the futility of war, the peacetime uses of atomic energy, and the utopian scheme of aerial inspection?

It would seem clear to all that the satellite States are the crucial ground for settlement between East and West. Militarily and politically, there can be no security for Western Europe as long as the Red Army is thrust into the heart of the continent. Morally, the United States cannot countenance any solution that leaves the Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, and other peoples who once shared our freedom and civilization forever enslaved.

The President might properly have reminded Khrushchev and Bulganin of this burden on their conscience and on ours. He might have called the roll of Benes and Masaryk and Maniu, of the members of the London government-in-exile of Poland lured to their death in Moscow, and of the countless other Eastern European democrats. He might have reminded them

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of the broken pledges of free elections made at Yalta. He might have observed that America was not going to embark on a war of liberation to free these peoples but that it is not going to forget them either.

This suggested speech would have cast a chill on the jollity of the occasion, but how much is a smile worth? It would have reasserted our moral position and intensified the pressure on the Soviet hierarchy to make tangible, if limited, concessions. It might even have reawakened the soggy conscience of certain Western Europeans who feel that nothing is at stake in this vast struggle except the safety of their own skins. Finally, it would have underlined the point that a strong nation, like a strong man, does not fail those weak who depend on it.

The Geneva Conference already looms in retrospect as but an episode in the fateful drama and not its penultimate climax. If, as has been argued here, it was a bungled episode and a missed opportunity, it was not a fatal engagement, and there will be future opportunities. What are needed now are radical new initiatives in both political and economic directions. The Atlantic, already shrunk to the size of a large lake, is becoming in the jet age a small pond. We must draw even closer politically to Britain and France, abandon our archaic trade policies, and together devise a common Atlantic policy to liquidate North African colonialism and solve the chronic economic instability of our two smaller partners. In Africa and Asia, we need a Point Four and economic-assistance program conceived in terms of immediate as well as long-term political objectives, scaled in billions rather than millions of dollars and executed with the urgency of a "crash" mission. These are things we urgently need to do. But America is not likely to undertake such programs in a year of political drift, especially since all issues are hopelessly obscured by the Geneva haze.

A PROTESTANT VIEW

Types of Anti-Catholicism

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

AS the nation at large has been reminded during the recent spate of "Reformation Sunday" sermons, addresses and rallies, Protestants claim that their faith is "positive" (a term which has no connection, incidentally, with the booming cult of "positive thinking"). The term "protestant," we have again been reminded, is not as negativistic as it sounds. The real meaning of the word *pro-testari* is to testify on behalf of something, to make positive affirmations, to witness for, rather than against. This theme is picked up each fall, as Protestants celebrate the nailing of the Ninety-Five Theses on the chapel door by Martin Luther, and then in most quarters it is tucked away in spiritual mothballs for another fifty-one Sundays.

So that if one is going to be factually honest, one is forced to report that a great many Protestant laymen, absymally ignorant of their own Protestant heritage, tend to define their faith in negative terms: to be a "protestant" is *not* to be a "catholic." If they are uneasy about this, they are even more uneasy about the fact that they do not know what the positive affirmations should be, and if they know what the positive affirmations should be, they are inclined to be slightly embarrassed by them. Their ministers should, and often do, know better, but in these days of the "return to religion," the religion to which many Protestant churches are "returning" is a far cry from the Reformation, let alone the New Testament. The result is that in this kind of situation, it is a lot easier (and more fun) to throw stones at the Catholics, than to use those stones to build a solid edifice of faith.

There are many varieties of anti-Catholicism in Protestant circles today. Some are petty. Some are vicious. Some are significant. And although every Catholic must have encountered some of them, a brief roster is called for.

1. *The "if-they're-for-it-I'm-agin'-it" type.* This is the kind of "protestant" (the quotation marks are used advisedly) who uses all his energy being against Catholicism. His creed is entirely negative. He does not believe in the Pope. He does not believe in the saints. He does not believe in Purgatory. He does not believe in "priests" (said with an inflection to indicate horror) or "priestcraft" (which carries sufficient connotation without inflection). He is against an ambassador to the Vatican. He is against parochial

Dr. Brown is himself a Protestant minister and a member of the faculty of Union Theological Seminary.

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schools. He is against Catholics who run for public office.

At any point where you are in doubt about his position, it can be clarified simply by telling him where the Catholics stand, and he will instinctively jump to the other pole of the argument. He doesn't know much about the place of Mary in Christian thought, for example, but when he discovers how highly she is regarded by Catholics, that settles the matter. No "feminine deities" for him, thank you.

It is difficult to pin him down on the content of his own Protestant faith. He feels that it has something to do with "freedom" and "the right of private judgment," and he may even talk vaguely about freedom of conscience, or freedom of worship, or (what has recently become quite popular) freedom to believe in whatever god you please. But this is all very hazy. He's on much firmer ground describing the things in which he does not believe.

2. *The Protestant "bigot" approach.* The word "bigot" is used loosely and spitefully and sometimes gleefully in Protestant-Catholic exchanges. It may seem a poor word to introduce into the present discussion. The breed does exist, however, and neither group is without its accomplished exemplars.

In the present writer's book, the Protestant bigot is one who cultivates the art of knowing all the dirt about the Catholics. All he does is give you the "facts," the positive information. No negativist, he! He can give you detailed accounts of the immoralities of all the Renaissance Popes, he has a mass of data about the Spanish Inquisition, he keeps a file of all the unwise things that members of the hierarchy unwisely allow to get into print, he can furnish you with a running account of the publicity maneuvers of every Cardinal who has ever been near a helicopter. (He seems to miss the times when members of the hierarchy condemn segregated Catholic worship and receive commendation from Rome.) He can tell you all about that Knights of Columbus "oath," and a dozen other things, each more blood-curdling than the last. He knows all the worst, and he will not listen to the best. His favorite word to describe fellow-Protestants who have good things to say about Catholicism is "naive." His next favorite word is "misinformed."

It is in this category that most Catholics seem to put what they call "Blanshardism," a term springing from the very vigorous attacks on Catholicism by Paul Blanshard. (I have discovered that among Catholics the term carries about the same emotional and moral connotations that the term "McCarthyism" carries for political liberals.) The present writer does not mean to include Mr. Blanshard himself among the front-line bigots. But if another term may be coined, the "Blanshardites" often are in the front lines.

With regard to Mr. Blanshard himself, there are areas where he has amassed some impressive documentation. Even some Catholic reviewers were not totally unkind to his book on the Irish and Catholic power. But Mr. Blanshard presents his material in a tone and manner which are usually so ardently "anti-Catholic" that the force of his argument is often lost. If his facts were as watertight as he claims, it would seem that they could be presented in a dispassionate enough way to speak for themselves. One sometimes wonders whether it would be worse to live in a country dominated by the Catholic mentality Mr. Blanshard describes, or the Blanshard mentality which he embodies. Protestants and Catholics should be aware that Mr. Blanshard writes from an almost completely "secularist" viewpoint, rather than from a distinctively Protestant one, and that technically he does not belong in a description of *Protestant* types of anti-Catholicism. But actually he does belong, since so many Protestants make undiscriminating use of his material.

3. *The "when-they-get-to-be-the-majority-they'll-destroy-our-freedom" angle.* The advocate of this position has accumulated a great deal of data on the situation in predominantly Catholic countries like Spain, Italy, Colombia and Argentina. He points out that in these countries Protestants are not only denied many rights which are granted to Catholics, but also that they are often persecuted if they try to evangelize. The conclusion is reached that if Catholics ever become the predominant group in America the same thing will happen here.

Now unfortunately, among thinking Protestants, this line of reasoning cannot be dismissed quite so easily as those we have looked at so far. For there *is* considerable evidence that in some predominantly Catholic countries, Protestants often do suffer for their minority status. Churches have been burned. Protestant ministers have been attacked. Priests have incited anti-Protestant riots. Furthermore there are plenty of extant writings by Catholics indicating their avowal of democracy when in the minority, and of authoritarianism when in the majority. And there is the passage so well-known to Protestants in Ryan and Boland's *Catholic Principles of Politics,* which indicates that if Catholics were an overwhelming majority in America, they would have to deny certain rights to Protestants. No rapport can be reached as long as Catholics simply deny that these things are so.

There is, of course, another side to the picture, a side about which most Protestants know very little, and no rapport can be reached so long as Protestants simply deny that this side of the picture exists. This is the dimension in *American* Catholic thought which is concerned about civil liberties for minorities, which insists that the pattern in Spain should not be normative for other countries, which publicly disavows the "grab for secular power" which Protestants fear, and

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so forth. It finds its voice in such periodicals as *America* and The Commonweal, and in the writings of such men as Father John Courtney Murray.

However, to be descriptively honest about Protestantism, it must further be pointed out that to cite this kind of evidence (as, for example Will Herberg does in his *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*) is not to convince most Protestants, who simply respond that such voices are only a tiny minority in present American Catholicism, and that they would be swallowed up, stifled or destroyed come the day of an America eighty-five per cent Catholic. As a result, the misgivings remain.

4. *The vast-monolithic-structure-apprehension.* The representative of this position has a curious, and often envious, way of looking at Roman Catholicism. He sees it as one vast structure, totally alike in every part. He is sure that there are no matters on which Catholics disagree, and that if they do, a word from the priest will set matters straight. He talks about the "Catholic vote," the "Catholic mind," and looks with fear on the phenomena of Catholic organizations paralleling most of the "regular" organizations in American life. He sees Catholic war veterans, Catholic schools, Catholic hospitals, Catholic charities, ad infinitum. All of these, he is sure, are ruled in hierarchical fashion in a vast pyramid of power culminating in the Pope.

Part of this apprehension springs from what may be an unarticulated and even unacknowledged fear of institutions which are "undemocratic" in their structure. Democracy equals freedom, Catholicism is undemocratic, therefore Catholicism equals un-freedom or tyranny: this is one way the syllogism might run.

It is difficult to allay this apprehension in principle and the difficulty must be faced by Catholics. It is a little easier, perhaps, to allay it in fact, for it is patently observable that "thought control" does not exist within Catholicism in the way the Protestant tends to fear. There are Catholics who are Republicans and Catholics who are Democrats, Catholics who like the Giants and Catholics who like the Dodgers, Catholics who send their children to public schools and Catholics who send their children to parochial schools, Catholics who are Irish and Catholics who (if truth be told, and may they seek forgiveness for it) hate the Irish.

5. *The "Catholicism-is-clericalism" belief.* Discussion of the "monolith" leads inevitably to Protestant apprehensions about "clericalism." The position is found in both sophisticated and unsophisticated forms. The latter type is roughly equivalent to "Catholicism-is-like-the-local-priest-in-our-community." The Protestant knows that the local priest (a) promotes bingo games, (b) uses wine in the Mass, (c) believes that Roman Catholicism is the only true Church, and (d) is raising funds for a parochial school. So he reasons from such data to the unwarranted conclusion that *all* Catholics respectively (a) are gamblers, (b) are drunkards, (c) think all Protestants are going to Hell, and (d) oppose American democracy.

However, in its sophisticated form, the position has more substance than this. It is voiced by many leading Protestants, running the gamut of theological profundity from the *Christian Century* (a completely independent but nevertheless significant voice in Protestant thought) to such men as Dr. John Mackay, who, whatever Catholics may think of his uncompromising attitude toward Catholicism, is one of the ablest and most respected voices in the Protestant theological world.

The concern of these people is that the Catholic hierarchy has become a very disturbing "power bloc" in modern American life. They see the hierarchy making far-reaching decisions which can be implemented by the total disciplined structure of the Church, with its millions (both of men and money), its cohesiveness, and its acceptance of the principle that those who speak in the name of the Church speak pretty nearly in the name of God. They feel that power corrupts in the realm of the spirit even more unfortunately than elsewhere, and that those voices in the hierarchy with power are quite ready to use it for the ends of their Church, to the detriment of others. An example of this would be the pressures continually brought upon the State Department to deny passports to Protestant missionaries going to South America, on the grounds that these countries are "Catholic countries." It is in terms of this fear of "clericalism" that many of the bitterest fights are fought in America—over public vs. parochial schools, federal aid to education, an ambassador to the Vatican, dissemination of birth control information, and so forth. And one unfortunate outburst by a Cardinal can do as much harm to Protestant-Catholic relations here as can a dozen books by Paul Blanshard.

Through it all, the Protestant sounds reasonably tolerant. He has no quarrel with Catholic laymen. In fact, some of his best friends are Catholics, and he does not find their motives suspect. But the "hierarchy," that is a different matter. . .

THESE types of anti-Catholicism represent varying degrees of significance and depth, and the reader must make his own assessment. But there is still one further type of Protestant opposition to Catholicism. This is on a deeper level yet, and it is very important for Roman Catholics to try to understand it. It comes from the Protestant who feels that Protestantism is a religion of affirmation rather than a series of polemics against Rome, and who tries to take this

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seriously not only on Reformation Sunday, but on the other fifty-one Sundays as well, with the week days thrown in for good measure.

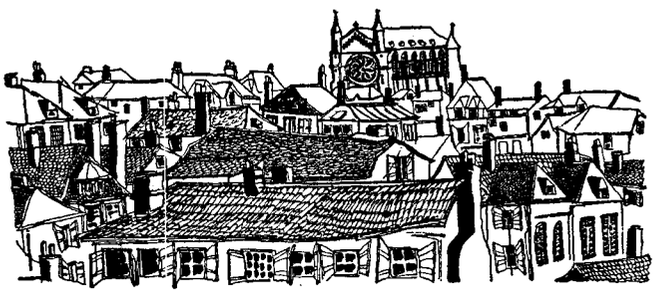
This Protestant feels, however wrong the Catholic may think him, that he stands within the heritage of the church of Jesus Christ, and that it is his duty to maintain that heritage. He sees the Reformation, for example, not as an individualistic "revolt," but as an attempt to recover the gospel which Christ not only proclaimed but enacted, the redemption of the world through His death and resurrection. He believes redemption or salvation to be the work of God, a gift which men must receive in repentance, gratitude and newness of life in the Holy Spirit.

And the point is, that it is in the name of such convictions as these that he feels bound to take issue with certain aspects of Roman Catholicism. It is *because* of his Christian convictions, rather than through lack of them, that part of his difficulty with Catholicism arises. Thus, to take only one example, when this Protestant takes exception to the Dogma of the Assumption, he would assert that he does so not because he believes *less* than the Catholic, but because he wants to assert unqualifiedly and without possibility of diminution, the sole efficacy of *Christ's* redemptive work for his salvation. He sees Catholic doctrine leading in the direction of making Mary the co-redeemer, and he feels that this is a point of view which endangers the Biblical understanding of Christ as sole mediator and savior.

Without minute elaboration, then, let it be reiterated that there is a kind of Protestant attitude toward Catholicism which must take issue with it, not out of bigotry, not out of political fears, not out of jealousy, but out of an attempt by the Protestant to be faithful to the gospel of Jesus Christ as he understands it. From that basis, he sees areas of Catholic thought, belief and practice, which seem to him to do less than justice to, or even to distort, Biblical faith. No Catholic reader is particularly going to appreciate such a contention, but let him at least try to understand Protestant motives at this point, and see that the Protestant is acting out of concern for the faith, rather than in denial of it.

THE main purpose of the preceding paragraphs has been descriptive. Perhaps in conclusion, a tentative foray into the realm of the hortatory is permissible. A great need, if Protestant-Catholic relations are to be improved, is a genuine attempt at understanding, by both sides. It is noteworthy that on the Catholic side, there have recently been some really significant attempts to assess the Protestant Reformation afresh, as Karl Adam's little book *One and Holy,* and the massive historical studies by Lortz, bear testimony. These are heartening to Protestants who had come to expect Catholic treatments of the subject to be full of the vilification found in the writings of Grisar and Denifle. And it is encouraging to note that a recent Protestant book attempting to explain Roman Catholicism to Protestants was greeted by the Catholic press as so fair that one publisher recommended it to priests as helpful in converting Protestants to Catholicism!

The plea for understanding, while it may not produce many conversions, is always important as a safeguard against distortions of the opposing position and the building up of straw men. If most Protestants misunderstand the area and extent of papal infallibility, most Catholics have no notion of what Protestants mean when they talk about "the priesthood of all believers." (Nor do most Protestants, if truth be told.) To whatever extent Catholics are permitted, they should seek to understand Protestant faith in something other than sheerly polemical terms. Their



priests are quite at liberty to point out the shortcomings of Protestantism, but it could be done more constructively if a position which actually exists were to be exposed, rather than a distorted caricature which exists nowhere save in the debunker's mind.

But two further pleas must be made, beyond that of understanding. These are pleas for charity and firmness. Let each side espouse both. Various types of Protestant "anti-Catholicism" have been under discussion, and an attempt has been made to indict a number of them. The shoe must fit on the other foot as well. For there are types of Catholic "anti-Protestantism" just as bigoted and unenlightened, and also just as significant in terms of deep commitment to the Church. Perhaps the most important thing, the greatest gift of charity for which we can hope in this situation, is not to cease disagreeing, but to make sure that we disagree about the right things. We can do this only as we are firm in holding to those things which comprise the essentials of our faith. And we can do it only as charity motivates our discussion and defines the areas of our disagreements. If these ingredients are present, it may be that the Holy Spirit can lead us closer to one another than we have yet come.

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Chances for a Non-Communist Left

Paris.

AFTER the vote of confidence won by Edgar Faure on October 28, we are doubtless to have elections within a few weeks. These will be of primary importance for the future of France and the French Union. Everyone is asking the same question: will the national vote shift toward the Left, following the customary swing of the French political pendulum?

Journalists like myself who are in contact with intellectual circles or Parisian politics believe that such a shift is possible, even probable. For there no longer is, so to speak, a French political movement of the Right. The nationalist Right no longer has political leaders or thinkers: the successors of Barrès, Léon Daudet, Charles Maurras, Tardieu are a dispirited lot.

The present parties of the Right are organizations which under various labels—peasants, independents, moderates, social republicans—seek only the preservation of certain private interests or privileges. They have no mystique, no program but the status quo. The few honest and intelligent political leaders in their ranks often feel compelled to take issue with their friends when vital national interests are at stake, as Pinay, Paul Reynaud and Pierre July have just done on the problems concerning North Africa.

But the rightist sector of the French electorate has little concern as a body—peasants and bourgeoisie—with political doctrine. It continues to be responsive to candidates who speak demagogically in terms of "defending the franc, the nation's colonial patrimony, property and order." It is recognized that whatever happens and whoever the candidates are, the perennial Right will always have more than a third of the votes in France. Another third goes to the parties of the Left, Socialists and Communists. Everything depends on the direction taken by the remaining third of the electorate.

What are the parties of the Left planning to do? In the past four years the Right has demonstrated its inability to rise to the level demanded by events. Where Indochina, the European Defense Union, North Africa and economic and social reconstruction at home were concerned, it has accepted what happened rather than foreseen developments and carried out a plan. That is why many Frenchmen want a shift in the majority vote which would permit the leaders of the Left to assume power.

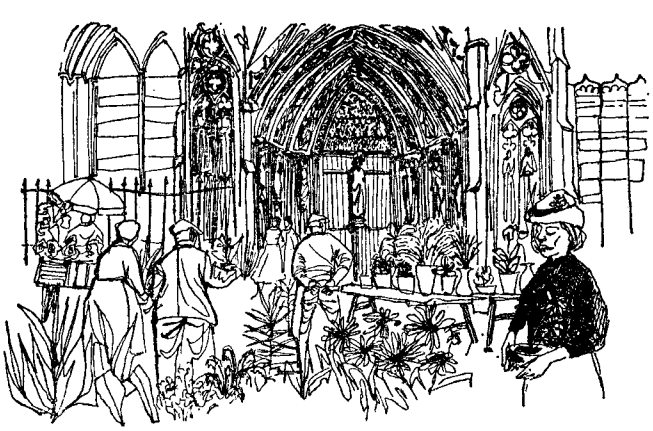
Under present circumstances there seems to be little chance of a new Popular Front. The French Communists, by their servile obedience to orders from Moscow, have alienated both liberals and democrats. Their co-religionists in Marxism, the Socialists, are no less harsh in their attitude toward the Communists. It would require a terrible and sudden aggravation of the Algerian situation to make the Socialist leaders accept a new united Left or Popular Front.

The elections slated for next month may destroy even the possibility of such a development. It is not wholly impossible that the Right-Center government of Edgar Faure called for an immediate showdown precisely in order to prevent a new Socialist-Communist collaboration, which is already beginning to make some serious headway in the trade unions.

Another situation which favors the Left is the fact that the war in Algeria is very unpopular. The sending of more troops and the calling up of several classes of reserves has aroused much emotion in this country. Here is a typical slogan of the day: "We do not wish to die in order to defend the holdings of the wealthy North African capitalists." In order to bring this Indochina-like affair to a conclusion many political elements of the Left will call loudly and incessantly for unity of action.

IN addition to the traditional formations of the Left (the Christian Democratic MRP can scarcely be considered as a party of the Left; for while its intentions are in that direction, its actions tend toward the Right) there is more and more talk of a New Left. The idea is not new, as for years there has been an effort to bring about such a political formation in France. Elements of the Socialist Party, of Communism, of the MRP, or even of the Gaullists, have on different occasions tried to re-group in this fashion.

Among these attempts were the Unitary Socialist Party of 1947, the revolutionary democratic "Rally"



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of J. P. Sartre and David Rousset in 1949, and the cartel of Leftist independents in 1951. These were abortive attempts to put forward on the economic and social level a progressive program which rejected the intellectual totalitarianism of Communism.

Recently, in 1953, municipal elections showed that this tendency was making partial headway in certain regions. Elements of the Christian Left—from the ancient *Jeune République* of Marc Sangnier, the Liberation of the People movement and the Action Center of Leftist independents—founded fourteen regional groups which put up candidates in the municipal elections.

As appealing as these attempts seem to be, the fact remains that in the eyes of the great body of voters they suffered from a fatal weakness: their sponsors were intellectuals, professors, journalists, doctors and lawyers. In France, as in many countries, people respect intelligence, but are afraid to put it in command of political power.

What the voters are after is hearty common sense coupled with simplified ideas. Yet the intellectuals need the workers, the only forward-moving wing of the French people, and the workers for the most part are captives of the Communist Party. That is why the intellectuals are under a constant temptation to seek collaboration. Naturally this gives their rightist adversaries the chance to accuse them of crypto-Communism. But if a union of workers and intellectuals were to be the outcome of this new leftist alliance, it is highly probable that it would actually become capable of assuming power in France.

BUT there is a new phenomenon which threatens to change the political geography of this country. It is Pierre Mendès-France himself, who succeeded in unfreezing an important sector of public opinion by demonstrating that effectiveness in office was not the exclusive property of authoritarian regimes, whether Fascist or Communist, and that a policy of progress and action was possible in France. His eight months in power left many deep impressions. If he misled some of his supporters by putting over the vote for German rearmament or by failing to act in Morocco, people do remember the authority which he manifested in bringing the Indochina war to a close and in attacking the problem of Tunisia. He stood forth as a man who was able to restore to the French people a confidence in themselves.

Soon after his fall from power, his supporters launched the idea that he was to be the head of a regrouping of the non-Communist Left in future elections. A weekly paper which in the past two years has done much to win credibility for this idea is *L'Express*. It was unpretentiously founded in the spring of 1953 and has brought together some of our most eminent writers and philosophers: Mauriac, Malraux, Camus, Merceau-Ponty. Economists such as A. Sauvy and Louis Armand, director of the French railways, doctors like Professor de Gennes and religious leaders like Father Avril, have become members of this extremely dynamic enterprise.

L'Express has been so successful that it became a daily a few weeks ago. Its readers come from the most diverse circles: militant trade unionists, members of Christian youth movements, administrative personnel and intelligent bourgeois groups desirous of a change. It is a certain French temperament rather than a current of thought with well-defined contours which has thus brought together a certain élite of men of action, many of whom belonged to the Resistance. They have had enough of the powerlessness and immobility to which the present party system appears to have condemned the French Republic. Through his "bloc-notes" in *L'Express* during the past two years François Mauriac has extended a strong influence in building up this new coalition and persuaded sincere Christians to participate in it.

Whatever happens, France is now aware of the Mendès-France movement. But what does that movement involve? Attachment to a man cannot take the place of a program, and of principles, indefinitely. It must be admitted that on this point we have too little information. Last year, during his term in office, he was so taken up by Indochina, Tunisia and the European Defense Community that we had no time to find out what he planned to do in France itself.

What reforms of our economy, our administration, our army, our university, our tax system does he plan to put into effect if he does return to power? Is he Socialist, liberal, in favor of decentralization of industry or of a single tax on power? No one knows. Since losing office, he is silent. Yet he is known to have a brain trust of economists and technicians. Will he reveal his program when the coalition has been completely successful in consolidating its control of the Radical Socialist Party? It is extremely probable that he will.

THE question of program, however, threatens to divide the two new groups of the Left. The first, the older one, is basically socialistic with an ideology inspired by Marx or Proudhon. The second, that of which *L'Express* is the organ, is pragmatist, focused on technics—if indeed it is not actually technocratic in inspiration with a tendency to ignore doctrinal questions of political philosophy. It will define itself as it goes along, in terms of the specific problems it faces.

Another important question: does Mendès-France have a chance of returning as President of the Coun-

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cil? The answer basically depends on the electoral law under which the next balloting is held. The present one is unquestionably one of the worst that France has ever had. It was dreamed up in 1951 by the Center Parties in order to put the Gaullist and Communist parties at a disadvantage. It permits all votes won by the parties which have concluded an alliance to be cast for the candidate with the biggest number of votes. Thus, in voting for an MRP candidate favorable to Catholic schools, a Frenchman might actually contribute to the election of a Radical Socialist who is a die-hard Freemason and secularist.

The followers of Mendès-France seek a return to a straight local vote which permits a direct choice and personal contact with each deputy. Since Mendès is very popular throughout the country, he would select his candidate in each district. His opponents of the Right-Center, who are afraid that new figures will appear on the political scene, are going to do everything they can to keep the present system except for a few light retouches. But even with the present system it is not impossible that the alliance will work out in such a way that it will help the candidates selected by Mendès-France.

In any event the election will probably result in the change of only a few dozen seats. The hope of Mendès' brain trust of winning a large percentage of the five million Communist votes is a vain one at the moment. Those who vote Communist, the great majority of them only nominally Communists, will leave the Communist Party *after* a non-Communist government has provided adequate housing, raised wages and brought about full employment—but not *before*. Likewise it would be a mistake to count on winning many votes from the Right.

Mendès was able last year to refuse Communist support, but if he intends to govern for any length of time he may be obliged, next year, to manifest less disdain for the Communist vote. In any case France will not be able to afford much longer the luxury of ephemeral governments which are condemned to immobility because of their internal contradictions.

ROBERT BARRAT.

THE SCREEN

DECEMBER IN DECEMBER

THE great Italian director, Vittorio De Sica, takes his movies and himself rather seriously. And so do audiences who saw in "Shoe Shine" and "Bicycle Thief" two of the best films ever made —films that were grim and hard to take, but which captured, as so few films do, the spirit of human loneliness. De Sica is not as successful in his new picture, "Umberto D.," which is a study of loneliness in old age. Unfortunately, De Sica, who has shown in his satirical comedy, "Miracle in Milan," that he understands humor, allows little of it to break through this unrelievedly grim story.

The title role in "Umberto D." is played, not by a professional actor, but by a college professor, Carlo Battisti, who is extraordinarily sensitive and touching in his portrait of the nice, lonely codger to whom every misfortune happens. Umberto can hardly get along on his very small pension. His only real friend is a young housemaid (Maria Pia Casilio) who takes time out from her complicated love life with two soldiers to talk to the old man. His greatest enemy is his landlady (Lina Gennari) who uses his room for illicit lovers and threatens to dispossess him for back rent. He gets sick and goes to the hospital; he returns to find his rooming house being made over and his dog gone. Then, after rescuing Flick from the dog pound, he tries to give him away, but with no success—nobody wants the dog, just as nobody wants its master.

Although "Umberto D." is well acted throughout, and has been beautifully photographed by G. R. Aldo, this neo-realist movie concentrates too long on one grim note. Even the infrequent touches of humor introduced by scriptwriter Cesare Zavattini have a tone of "Let them smile as I do now at the old forsaken bough." Perhaps "Umberto D." errs in seeing old age only from rheumy eyes, just as so many Hollywood films go to the other extreme in seeing life only through rose-colored glasses. In any case, the film is a memorable portrait of an old man, and contains a classic scene in which he realizes that his friends and acquaintances, all busy with their own lives, are bored with his. It is a scene that combines great pathos with dignity.

AS far from the Italian "Umberto D." as any film could be is "The Tender Trap"—slick, prettily photographed in Eastman Color and CinemaScope, very well acted by a fancy cast, and packed with a million laughs. Its script, written by Julius Epstein

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from the play by Max Shulman and Robert Paul Smith, is based on the premise that New York is a bachelor's paradise. The most eligible catch in this paradise is Frank Sinatra, an actors' agent who has 496 girls on the string. But he finally gets his comeuppance when Debbie Reynolds, who's using the stage as a stop-gap between college and marriage, decides he's her man. She almost loses him after a tiff when Frank's house guest (David Wayne) shames him into becoming engaged to Celeste Holm; but Celeste, playing to perfection the poignant role of a not-so-young woman who knows when she's not quite wanted, tenderly turns down both Frank, who loves Debbie, and David, who has a wife back in Indiana. As you can see, "The Tender Trap" does not take marriage very seriously. But under Charles Walters' direction the film moves at a fast pace, with a clever cast which keeps you laughing without giving you time to consider the thinness of the material. This fact may keep you from thinking about whether or not you agree with the film's conclusions: that love is a tender trap and that even eligible bachelors have to grow up.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

THE STAGE

TIGER AT THE GATES

THE scene is Troy: not the windswept Homeric plains, burning under the vault of night with a thousand campfires, but Priam's holy citadel, which the dogs of war have already begun to foul. Under a hot Asian sun, Andromache and Cassandra await the victorious return of Hector. The fields of Troy are heavy with golden wheat; happiness falls from the sky like a blanket of snow; in her womb, Andromache carries the seed of Hector, yet imperceptibly the light changes—"doom has transfigured everything here with the color of storm." Paris has abducted Helen, and the sibylline Cassandra smells the tiger at the gates. He rouses, opens one eye, stretches and starts to prowl. He pads silently up the steps, and pushes doors open with his snout. Suddenly he is here, in his tawny terror, and at that moment, the splendid Hector arrives triumphantly on the battlements of Troy.

With his entrance, the dramatic energy of "Tiger at the Gates"—which has been ominous and gathering—springs terribly to life. For Hector is the "guardian of the perishable joys," as Mme. Rachel Bespaloff calls him in her essay *On the Iliad*. In the scales of fate, he may weigh only "a young woman and an unborn child . . . . hunting, courage, loyalty, love . . . . all the leafy thick-set oak trees that grow on the hills . . . . the whole race of humble peasants, hard-working craftsmen, thousands of plows and looms, forges and anvils . . . . joy of life, belief in life, a response to whatever's natural and good." And the tiger is the enemy of these: the tiger is "the stupidity of men and the wild stupidity of the elements:" the tiger is vanity and self and the destructive impulse. But the tiger is also something more: Destiny—"the relentless logic of each day we live"—and in this terrible embrace of the beast, Hector is crushed. What is tragedy? someone once asked Giraudoux, and he replied: the affirmation of a horrible bond existing between man and a greater fate than man's fate. What is the tragic hero? he was questioned further, and answered again: he is a being peculiarly resigned to cohabiting with every shape and every monster of destiny.

Grief and pleasure, passion and relief burn with equal intensity at the center of Giraudoux's variation on a classic theme. The play's texture has the iridescence and shimmer, the hard beauty, of light on shot silk: language cascades and erupts in fountains of liquid sound. (Mr. Christopher Fry's translation has fidelity, power, elegance, steeliness, perfection of cut.) Giraudoux has taken figures from the pre-literate, pre-psychological Homeric universe and honeycombed them with sophistication and complexity of motive. Helen is not here the moving finger of remorse drawn across the pages of the *Iliad,* but a creamy blonde vacancy, baleful and inaccessible, yet a hostage of fate, charged with the danger of "one of those rare creatures destiny puts on the earth for its own personal use." Cassandra is a modish sibyl in timeless evening dress; Paris, the seducer son "in a large middleclass family." The chorus of Trojan elders whose reedy voices, in Homer, pipe thinly their praise of Helen's beauty, provides Giraudoux with one of his most resonant motifs. Yet these modifications of myth, so quintessentially Gallic in their irreverent sensibility, occasionally blur the purity of the play's tone. "Intellectual stimulation," M. Georges May has written suggestively in a study of Giraudoux, "is not compatible with the tragic emotion. Giraudoux's delectable and sophisticated humor reduces the tragic tension of the drama. Only irony could tighten it, as Sophocles and Racine exemplified it." And I find everywhere in "Tiger at the Gates" the tragic rhythm, but only once the tragic release: in the long dialogue between Hector and Ulysses, when heightened knowledge moves beyond good and evil, beyond wit and tears and laughter into that chill air where man's fate is determined, and spirit withers at the mercy of punishing circumstance.

Mr. Harold Clurman's production of "Tiger at the Gates" is one of the absolute theatrical occasions of the past decade in New York. By an act of imaginative apprehension such as our theater rarely permits, he has kept the performance in a superb repose, circumscribed

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yet vibrant with energy, directing our attention to what is always the ultimate center of any Giraudoux play: the mesmerism of the word. I do not imagine Mr. Clurman has done anything finer than this, and I am not forgetting his exquisite dramatic articulation of "The Autumn Garden" and "The Time of the Cuckoo." Mr. Loudon Sainthill's backdrops splendidly suggest the fateful ambience of the myth, as does Mr. Lennox Berkeley's incidental music.

No one of the performances is less than competent, several are triumphs: Miss Leueen MacGrath's crystalline, worldly Cassandra; Diane Cilento's fluting, voluptuous Helen; the tart venom of Catherine Lacey's Hecuba, and John Laurie's frenzied nationalist poet. Mr. Walter Fitzgerald's Ulysses has authority, but the pressure here is a little monotonous, and the surface somehow dull. Mr. Michael Redgrave, as Hector, crowns the evening with an illustration of the passionate dramatic line in action: he gives the play its velocity and weight and momentum. Humanity itself is outraged in his defeat, and when one sees the image of his broken spirit, irresistibly the mind moves forward in time: to Achilles sulking by his black ships; to Hector's plume tumbled in the dust, and Hecuba's screams rending the windy air of Ilium. "The Trojan poet is dead," says Cassandra, brooding as the tiger, Destiny, pushes open the gates of war with his snout. "And now the Grecian poet will have his word." (*At the Helen Hayes, formerly the Fulton.*)

RICHARD HAYES.

COMMUNICATIONS

"BAND OF ANGELS"

New York, N.Y.

TO the Editors: In your Nov. 11 issue Russell Kirk writes that it is easier to abide folly or error than to abide dullness. Nine and ten pages later, in his review of *Band of Angels,* Mr. Sullivan combines all three.

I read *Band of Angels* and did not read, in the book or out of it, that Warren's heroine and narrator, Amantha Starr, is his vehicle for his solution to the racial problem. I don't know that he has ever referred to the "problem" as a problem.

In the same paragraph Mr. Sullivan writes that the book closes on a note of hope. It does not. It closes on a note of repose. If anyone doubts this, let him read the last chapter.

In the next paragraph we learn that the book is a failure because of the mechanical way in which the thematic material is worked out, etc. Let's stop this nonsense. The plot of *Band of Angels* is no more

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mechanical than the plots of *Tom Jones, Bleak House* and *War and Peace.*

A critic need not praise a book but he ought to dislike it intelligibly instead of pretending to analyze and judge with worn out words like problems, solution, failure, mechanical and, God help us, "Gothic *frisson.*"

J. F. CURLEY.

New York, N.Y.

TO the Editors: Allow me to pay my respects to John L. Sullivan for having written a review of Robert Penn Warren's *Band of Angels* [Nov. 11] which indicates that he has read the book for what it is and not in deference to Mr. Warren's position on the crest of the current fashion in literary criticism. For what is most obvious about Mr. Warren's central character is the simple fact that she amounts to no more than a puling bawd reciting the labored rhetoric of a devisioned Thomas Wolfe. What is annoying about the "historical" outlines of the work is the less excusable fact that Mr. Warren has not bothered to read the history of the Negro in America. And what is definitely amusing about all this would-be subtlety and irony is Mr. Warren's limitations in this vein, a fact which brings his novel off as an exercise in brat-like propaganda.

It is all very well for the North and South to join hands over the Negro's head in literature (and history) if they are tall enough to do so. But in view of such works as Richard Wright's *The Outsider,* Ann Petry's *The Narrows,* Chester Hime's *The Third Generation* and Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man,* writers like Mr. Warren have neither the depth nor the language to accomplish what they are attempting.

HENRY F. WINSLOW.

BOOKS

Agonizing Reappraisal of T. E. Lawrence

LAWRENCE OF ARABIA. By Richard Aldington. Regnery. $5.

THE DESERT AND THE STARS. By Flora Armitage. Henry Holt. $4.

By M. A. FITZSIMONS

IT is high time for a reassessment of Lawrence of Arabia. The Protean idol of one post-war generation could not sustain his many roles for the post-war generation of a later conflict. New information and a little sober thought were bound to destroy some parts of the legends. Even more important are changes in Britain and the world, changes which undermine the forces that fostered the legends.

Britain's social transformation and other wry-making experiences have withered the adolescent cult of effortless mastery and ready omniscience, which glibly saw in Lawrence Britain's gift of a combined Napoleon, Bismarck, Cavour and Lanny Budd to the Arab world. Some imperialists claimed him as a saint of their cause, but their cause has been lost. To the left-wing he has been the most decent of the imperialists, a hermit doing penance for the sins of British power-politics, the disappointed father of the Middle East, the sad surveyor of *Seven Fallen Pillars.* But a moment's consideration of the modern Middle East suggests that its father must be a Juke or a Kallikak. Finally, he is the social critic's delight, a tortured hero, intellectual, man of action, and author of books that cry for interpretation, an ever useful sign of a kind of cultural development. In this phase he was bound to be buffeted by ingenious interpretations. His myth-producing qualities are not exhausted, but there is no longer time for minor theophanies.

Mr. Richard Aldington has commenced the work of reassessment. He has performed a useful function in revealing some of the errors made by the host of prominent and uncritical admirers of Lawrence—"The Lawrence Bureau" is the descriptive title which an old forensic tradition has suggested to him. Unfortunately, Mr. Aldington in his present role of ax-man of the idols of his generation is incapable of the sympathetic inquiry that might have produced understanding. Mr. Aldington's work, on the whole, leaves the state of the question little better than it was before he joined the act. His hastily written and repetitious book will not smash an idol, and it may briefly promote a more frantic cultivation of the myth.

Lawrence of Arabia is presented as a scholarly work. Its sub-title, *A Biographical Enquiry,* protests that it is not a full-scale study, a protestation about as modest as a can-can dancer. Mr. Aldington arrived at many conclusions and the pose of maintaining an inquiry contributes to the tediousness of his book. The first three-hundred pages produce an effect like that of the early writings of Mr. Upton Sinclair. Indignation spouts like the spring of hope and the reader is driven to wonder why the author does not seem to learn from twenty experiences. Actually, he does learn enough, but is not generous enough to reach out beyond the details of his indictment to the mystery of a peculiarly restless soul.

Lawrence, we are told, was a man of many masks, a self-conscious Oxonian aesthete, formed by pre-Raphaelite tastes and with William Morris as a master, a schoolboy scholar, at times rude and sometimes charming, and behind these masks the core of "a watchful adventurer of intense ambition, a mind of versatility and skill, an unscrupulous will-to-power, a wilfulness impatient of control, a self-assertiveness which was allied with contempt." He was an adventurer without roots in society because he was the illegitimate son of an Anglo-Irish baronet. He resented his social inferiority and sought to compensate for it by great achievement.

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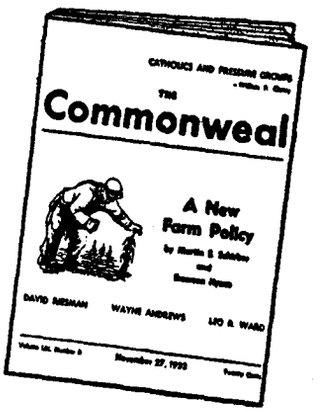

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As a child he persistently exaggerated his doings, and when Mr. Lowell Thomas catapulted the fully cooperative Lawrence into the realms of publicity and fame, Lawrence became his own ingenious myth-maker. He complicated matters further by supplying his most perceptive biographer, Mr. Robert Graves, with a large measure of myth and persuading the poet to disavow Lawrence's connection with the work.

After the war Lawrence relived his war years in the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom,* which has wonderful and unforgettable accounts of man at war, even though it must be admitted that much of the book is self-consciously adjusted to classical examples and is quite strained by an attempt to meet pre-Raphaelite standards. "As time went by our need to fight for the ideal increased to an unquestioning possession, riding with spur and rein over our doubts." They had become slaves, body and soul, to the overmastering greed of victory. "By our own act we were drained of morality, of volition, of responsibility, like dead leaves in the wind. . . . What now looks wanton or sadic seemed in the field inevitable, or just unimportant routine."

Lawrence explained the book in many ways—it was an apology for his first thirty years, a curious document, interesting to students of abnormal psychology and irregular warfare, an effort to "dramatize reality," to make "history an imaginative thing," the partisan and self-regarding book "of a counter-jumping opportunist," a bulging and ill-sorted storehouse of the ideas which he had had during the Arab Revolt, a "show-up of a mean man on the rack of action" and the explanation of his retirement into the ranks of the R.A.F. Lawrence was a pluralist who did not even attempt to maintain a single explanation for any particular friend. He proffered each new item as another addition to the corpus of revelation.

The printing and binding of the *Seven Pillars* reveal Lawrence as a fame-mad Pharaoh with a William Morris craze for craftsmanship. Every right hand page of the book had to end in a paragraph—the final product was an ostentatious and arty book, a fit vehicle for a work of such painful self-consciousness. Aldington does not attempt to deal with the puzzles of the volume but limits himself to matters of fact and detail.

The retirement of Lawrence into the R.A.F. marks the breakdown of Aldington's book. He misses the terrible agony of a man who gradually lost the will to live. Mr. Aldington's *East Lynne* Freudianism—illegitimacy as the key—does not account for the behavior of the other brothers, and it is completely unsupported by the precocious letters of T. E. Lawrence to his family published in *The Home Letters of T. E. Lawrence and His Brothers.*

You can support almost anything by single quotations from Lawrence's correspondence—but you cannot prove a fury-ridden household. It is even impossible to be certain that he yielded under beatings to the homosexual military governor of Der'a. There is some evidence that he had scars on his back but the evidence for the beating and the humiliation come entirely from Lawrence's own writtings, and Lawrence is not a good witness. He wrote with emotion about the experience in the *Seven Pillars* and in a letter to the wife of George Bernard Shaw. He, however, told a lot of other stories and gave many other reasons for his enlistment in the R.A.F. If the incident happened, the greatest humiliation would surely have been the fact that his sternly trained will had not sustained him in the ordeal. But how is the researcher who is interested in honest answers to get the truth about "so elusive a person as myself"?

The peculiar hindrances to learning the truth about Lawrence are well-revealed in *The Desert and the Stars* by Miss Flora Armitage. A better written and proportioned book than Mr. Aldington's, it presents the Lawrence legend tinged with criticism. Unfortunately, Miss Armitage begins on a most damaging note. She indicates that she had been prepared to conceal the fact of Lawrence's illegitimacy, upbraids Mr. Aldington for his sensationalism in revealing the fact and, then, rather surprisingly, points out that Mr. Aldington is not entitled to the credit of being first. This is the wonderful cake that is not reduced by eating. Miss Armitage explains his distrust of politics on the ground that "he saw through their unavoidable frauds." This raises the question of the necessity of his own deceits. These Miss Armitage presents as juggling of facts and events to present different facets of his personality—"a flaw of character . . . consonant with his self-distrust, his fear of being seen, for what he was in his own eyes in too clear a light."

This type of fluffy thinking irritated Mr. Aldington into writing his dull book. His attack on the legends is a useful work, but the work of reassessment remains to be done. The work probably cannot be done by the ordinary methods of scholarship, for who can sift out truth from Lawrence's letters and the *Seven Pillars?* His efforts to hide have been successful. Perhaps a subtle religious psychologist will read the enigma which has baffled Mr. Aldington.

The Literary *Aficionado*

BULL FEVER By Kenneth Tynan. Harper. $5.

By JACK PATTERSON

ABOUT a fourth of the way through *Bull Fever* Kenneth Tynan generously remarks that Hemingway's *Death in the Afternoon* is "still the soundest and best" book in English about bullfighting. Unfortunately, *Bull Fever* is currently the soundest and best evidence of the truth of Mr. Tynan's remark.

In the summer of 1952, Mr. Tynan, a drama critic for the London *Observer,* whose experience with bullfighting dates back to 1950,

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visited Pamplona, Segovia, Madrid and Valencia, where he spent a dozen or so afternoons in the *plaza de toros* watching such matadors as Dominguín, Litri, Ordóñez and Vazquez. The result was this book, written "to explain the kind of pleasure the bullfight can bestow."

Bullfighting has appeared under various shapes in English writing. From the exhaustive appreciation of *Death in the Afternoon* one may turn to a mockingly savage description of a *corrida* in Lawrence's *The Plumed Serpent*. More recent books, such as Homer Casteel's *The Running of the Bulls* and Barnaby Conrad's *La Fiesta Brava,* are primarily manuals for the uninitiated. *Bull Fever* is really something quite different. Superficially informative about technical matters, it is really a kind of literary evocation of the bullfight. The book's tone is set in the preface where Mr. Tynan tells us, in a characteristic formulation, bullfighting is "the clearest modern encapsulation" of C. M. Bowra's definition of the task of the epic hero, "the pursuit of honour through risk." It is also very likely the most relentlessly pretentious book yet written about an art already beginning to strain under a load of over-elaborate symbolism.

Death in the Afternoon is founded on exact observation. What Hemingway knew, saw and felt emerges with clarity, precision and absolute freedom from excess. Mr. Tynan has seen about eighty *corridas,* but his book sags with, surely, ten times eighty quotations drawn from Elizabethan drama, nineteenth-century English novels, French poetry and contemporary night club patter. *Bull Fever* seems concerned not so much with describing events as providing impressive similes and metaphors, apt phrases and literary allusions to lend depth and weight to Mr. Tynan's responses to the events. His metaphors are sometimes insensitive as when, in an extended conceit, he calls a *corrida* a "soufflé." The writing is often inflated; and Mr. Tynan can turn out so grotesque a phrase as "The *faena* was *echt* Luis Miguel . . ." But if Mr. Tynan's literary offerings do not always shed light, they stand eloquent witness to his tastes. The eclecticism of his tastes, as well as his general approach to bullfighting, is suggested by his perfectly bland remark that the bullfight is something "which I like to contemplate as much as I like to see Chekov, to read Thomas Browne or Hopkins, to hear Bix Beiderbecke, or to imagine Edmund Kean."

The taste for quotation and allusion is not just a flaw in the writing, but rather an aspect of Mr. Tynan's perceptions. Amid the most distracting circumstances his implacable power to form literary associations asserts itself. During one afternoon's fighting, the matador's entrance brings to his mind four lines from *Julius Caesar* which, though he is ostensibly quoting from his diary—an inept device in his hands—he remembers and transcribes fully. A particularly fine pass with the *muleta* so thrills Mr. Tynan that suddenly, *"Valse mélancolique et langoureux vertige;* the solemn rhythm of the pass sent Baudelaire's lines surging into the mouth. . . ." Finally, during another *corrida,* while the matador is leaning in over the horns to thrust his sword into the bull's shoulders, the dramatic instant that the Spanish call the "moment of truth," Mr. Tynan, ecstatic, records that the sword, "flashed in the air and vanished up to the hilt, with real peril and majesty in it. . . . I thought of Beddoes: 'Let heaven unscabbard each star-hilted lightning'. . ."

One might go on multiplying examples, but perhaps a simple statistic will suffice. An examination of one chapter chosen at random produces the following crop of names: William Styron, Orson Welles, John Marks, Ernest Hemingway, Rembrandt, Clyde Beatty, Gulliver, Samuel Sorbière, Lionel Trilling, Jimmy Durante, Charles Chaplin, W. C. Fields, Buster Keaton, Jean-Louis Barrault, Laurence Olivier, John Gielgud, Bob Hope, Adelaide Ristori, Coquelin, and Maxwell Anderson. It should be added, that *Bull Fever* contains a large number of admirable photographs.

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Religious Tensions in the U. S.

CATHOLIC-PROTESTANT CONFLICTS IN AMERICA. John J. Kane. Regnery. $3.50.

By J. N. MOODY

As a youth in a small town, this reviewer, with two correligionists, was once refused a position on a neighborhood football team because of his religious faith. Though I have since mixed rather generally with non-Catholics in military, academic and civic organizations, this is the last unfriendly act of which I have been conscious that was directed against me as a Catholic. This probably disqualifies me as a judge of a book that accents the disapprobation which many Protestants feel toward Catholics. At very least, it places me in the minority within a minority described in this book.

How does one weigh his personal experience against the data accumulated in this book? In the author's corner, though he does not mention it, is the report of a year ago of the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith which found anti-Catholicism more virulent in contemporary America than anti-Semitism. Then there is the editorial in October 30th issue of the *Christian Century:* "Probe a 1955 Protestant, and in altogether too many cases you will find him 'touchiest' on the subject of Roman Catholicism. . . . There is a neurotic Protestant anxiety about Rome which, far from safeguarding Protestantism, gets in the way of its positive self-realization and fulfilment." These lines were written since the volume has been published.

Obviously the author's point of view must be seriously examined. It may be stated as follows: No other religious group in our history has suffered as have Catholics such severe prejudice and discrimination. Despite this, there is not a single specific organization devoted to the defense of this minority, though—and this will be news to many Catholics—the National Conference of Christians and Jews was founded to combat the hostility toward Catholics evidenced in the Presidential campaign of 1928. Indeed, far from coming to the support of the Catholic minority, many "liberals" join in the attack. In fact, current anti-Catholicism is a synthesis of the older tradition of many Protestants with the newer strain introduced by the secularists. Nor do Catholics help: they do not actively seek allies among the fair-minded of other religions.

These Protestant-Catholic tensions are symptoms to which both sides contribute, though not to the same degree, for the minority lacks the necessary position of power. Conflicts are particularly severe after a national crisis which distorts the equilibrium of the various groups in our dynamic society. In the post-crisis period there is an effort of the minority to retain gains or to realize hopes that have been evoked, while the dominant groups attempt

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to regain lost status. Present tension in the field of inquiry stems from Protestant fear that Catholics were emerging from their minority position, thus posing a threat to Protestantism. Like most fears and charges in this area, this does not stand up under honest investigation. But it is accepted because Catholicism is an historic scapegoat and because Catholics take refuge behind a wall of separatism.

The author concludes that American society faces three possibilities: it can attempt to fuse all groups, by persuasion or coercion, into a homogeneous set of beliefs and behavior patterns. This would be the antithesis of democracy. It can permit minority groups to retain their beliefs and behavior at a price, as at present. Or it can permit and encourage minorities to retain their distinctive values and at the same time to participate actively and harmoniously with all other elements in the larger society. This would be democracy, and there are hopeful signs that the United States is moving in that direction.

To make these points, Professor Kane employs the methodology of his specialty, which is sociology. His general positions might be profitably pondered by both groups he addresses, though I would like to see this book read along with Will Herberg's perceptive *Protestant, Catholic, Jew*. Dr. Kane's constructive proposals are excellent and his observations on education should compel attention. I felt he tried to cover too broad an area, but he could respond that the survey approach is preferable in a book intended for the general public. I would be less severe with the Catholic laity and I am not as sure of the dominance of clerics in the sparse field of Catholic scholarship. But he is quite right in his plea for better lay leadership to lessen tensions that have harmed the general welfare and religion itself.

REVIEWERS

M. A. Fitzsimons is an editor of the *Review of Politics*.

Jack Patterson is a member of the editorial staff of the *New Yorker*.

Father J. N. Moody is a member of the faculty of Cathedral College in N.Y.

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Atchison, Kansas. A Catholic College for men conducted by the Benedictine Fathers. A Liberal Arts College, accredited by the North Central Association. Located fifty miles northwest of Kansas City, Missouri, on the Missouri River. Address Registrar for information.

NEW YORK

Nazareth College

Rochester 18, N. Y. Conducted by Sisters of St. Joseph. B.A. and B.S. Degrees. Liberal Arts — Science — Education — Art — Music — Speech and Dramatics — Secretarial Science — Social Service — Nursing — Medical Technology.

NEW JERSEY

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Four-year course leading to B.A. and B.S. degrees provides a solid background of general culture and special training in one particular field. Well-integrated program in Liberal Arts, Fine Arts, Science, Music, Home Economics, Business Administration. Teacher Training. Fully accredited. Address Secretary. Lakewood, N. J.

The Catholic Bishops' Thanksgiving Clothing Collection for the Needy Overseas November 20-27

Bring all usable clothing, bedding, blankets and shoes to your local parish church

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We have a house to put in order...

NOTHING strikes so brutally at human lives as a slum.

Yet, of America's many millions of homes, the blot that is a slum covers more than 1 out of every 10 . . . and nearly one-half of all our homes are urgently in need of repair and basic improvements.

Will this blot go on spreading? Or will a concerted, nationwide attack on the causes of slums shrink it, year by year, until it is wiped out? Today, this is a challenge to every American . . . a challenge that *must* be met.

Your community . . . your problem!

A slum reaches across blocks, across miles, to sit on your doorstep and demand a price.

You pay it in the threat of crime and juvenile delinquency to your family. *You* pay the price in higher personal property taxes to fight the disease and crime and poverty that are slum-bred. *You* pay personally when the value of your home sinks as community deterioration takes another step closer.

What can be done?

Already many organizations are working to reverse the trend toward sub-standard housing. Add your effort to theirs. Your effort, multiplied by a million other Americans', can stop slums and put America's housing standard at a new height.

Some slums are beyond repair, should be torn down and a fresh start made. Others can be remodeled, made to conform to better living standards. It is up to you to get behind every sound program which seeks to provide adequate housing for all our people.

Follow the course of Action!

A new, non-profit organization has been formed to help combat home and community deterioration—The American Council To Improve Our Neighborhoods . . . A.C.T.I.O.N. It offers information and educational facilities to help you as an individual or as a member of a civic or social group.

Send today for a free copy of "ACTION." It explains what A.C.T.I.O.N. is and proposes to do. It also lists booklets, research reports, check-lists, and other material which can help. Address P. O. Box 500, Radio City Station, New York 20, N. Y.

ACTION

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